KEGLEY'S VIRGINIA FRONTIER

THE BEGINNING OF THE SOUTHWEST

THE ROANOKE OF COLONIAL DAYS

1740-1783

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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CHAPTER III.

FIRST SETTLERS WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES.

PREVIOUS to 1749, Western Virginia was untrodden by the foot of white man, if we except an occasional trader, who may have ventured upon the heads of some of the tributary streams which take their rise in the Alleghany Mountains.

Some time during this year, a man laboring under aberration of intellect, wandered from Frederick county into the wilderness of the Greenbriar country. Although a supposed lunatic, there seemed yet enough of "method in his madness," to tell his friends, on returning home, that he had discovered rivers flowing in a contrary direction to those of the Valley. His description of the country soon induced some to visit it, among whom were Jacob Martin and Stephen Sewell. These men settled on the Greenbriar river, where they built a cabin; but soon disagreeing about some trivial matter, Sewell left his companion, and took up his abode in a hollow tree. In the Spring of 1751, when Andrew Lewis visited the country as agent for the Greenbriar Company, he discovered the lonely pioneers in the deep seclusion of their mountain home. Upon inquiry as to the cause of their estrangement, the gallant Lewis soon reconciled matters, but only for a brief time, as Sewell shortly afterwards removed farther into the wilderness, where he fell a victim to Indian barbarity.

Further attempts to colonize the Greenbriar country were not made for many years. John Lewis, and his son Andrew, proceeded with their explorations, until interrupted by the

breaking out of the French war. In 1762, a few families began to penetrate the region on Muddy creek, and the Big Levels; but a royal proclamation of the next year, commanded that all who had settled, or held improvements on the Western waters, should at once remove, as the claim of the Indians had not been extinguished; and it was most important to preserve their friendship, in order to prevent them coalescing with the French.[1] Those families already in the enjoyment of their improvements, refused to comply with the King's mandate, and most of them were cut off by the savages in 1763–4.[2] From the date of these occurrences, up to 1769, the Greenbriar country contained not a single white settlement. In that year, Captain John Stuart, with a number of others, made improvements, which they continued to hold despite every effort of the Indians to dispossess them.[3] Seven years later, (1776) settlements were made on New river. The lands taken up in this region, being held by what were known as "*corn rights*"—whoever planted an acre of corn, acquired a title to one hundred acres of land.[4]

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[1] This proclamation contained among its provisions, the following, in reference to the settlements in Western Virginia.

"And we do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatsoeve who have either willfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lan within the countries above described, or upon any other lands, which, n having been ceded to or purchased by us, are still reserved to the sa Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlement &c. (See Land Laws, p. 86.)

[2] Washington, in his Journal, speaks of having met at the house of M Frazier, mouth of Turtle creek, January 1st, 1754, twenty warriors, who started for the South to war; "but coming to a place on the head of Great Kanawha, where they found seven people killed and scalped, t turned about and ran back, for fear the inhabitants should rise and t them as the authors of the murder."

[3] Withers, 48.

[4] Ibid.

CHAPTER IV.

LAND OPERATORS IN THE WEST.

TIME had scarcely been allowed to dry the ink on the signatures to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, ere the British government proceeded to carry out one of its well matured plans for forestalling the movements of the French, and taking immediate possession of the country lying west of the Mountains, and east of the Ohio. This scheme was the formation by an act of Parliament, of a great landed corporation, which was designed to check the encroachments of France, despoil the Indians of their inheritance, and secure permanent possession of the valley of the Ohio.

We will quote from Sparks, the nature, &c., of this corporation. In 1749, Thomas Lee, one of His Majesty's Council in Virginia, formed the design of effecting settlements on the wild lands west of the Alleghany Mountains. * * * With the view of carrying his plan into operation, Mr. Lee associated himself with twelve other persons in Virginia and Maryland, and with Mr. Hanbury, a merchant in London, who formed what they called "THE OHIO COMPANY." Five hundred thousand acres of land were granted almost in the terms requested by the company, to be "taken on the south side of the Ohio river, between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers. Two hundred thousand acres were to be located at once, and held for ten years free of quit-rent, provided one hundred families were settled on it within seven years, and a fort erected of suitable strength to protect the inhabitants." This may be considered the first decisive step on the part of the English, to take possession of the country bordering the

Company, incorporated on the 12th June, [illegible],
with a grant for 800,000 acres, from the "line
1.] of Canada, North and West." The British Min-
vidently become alarmed at what they were pleased
encroachments of the French; and it was to fore-
movements by throwing into the disputed territory
l neutrality," in the shape of several hundred
families, that made the English Government and
agents, so solicitous to colonize the regions of
We will revert to this subject in another chapter,
sume the thread of our narrative.

1750, the Ohio Company sent out Christopher
ist on an exploring expedition. He is represent-
d to have crossed from the south branch of the
o the headwaters of the Juniata; thence to the
crossing that river a few miles above where
now stands. Descending the Ohio to the mouth
he went up that stream, thence across to the
, and down to the Miami. After an absence of
nths, he returned to the Kanawha, and made a
xamination of the country lying east of that river
f the Ohio.[1]

as already stated, Andrew Lewis, afterwards so
d in the military annals of our State, commenced
the Greenbriar tract. The movements of both
s, however, had been closely watched, and informa-
ed to the French, who by this time had fairly got

plain, built Crown Point, and without delay proceeded
ify certain other positions on the waters of the upper
With this view, they erected a fort at Presque Ile, on
Erie; another about fifteen miles distant, which they
Le Bœuf; and a third, at the mouth of French Creek,
enango. But lest, while these little fortresses were
rising in the wilderness, the English might attempt
ponding means for defence, a company of soldiers was
ched by the French Commandant, with positive orders
intruders out of the valley of the Ohio; but to use no
e, "except in case of obstinate continuance, and then
their goods."[1]
party doubtless heard of the movements of Gist, and
sence of English traders on the Miami. Thither they
d their steps and demanded that the intruders should
or be given up as trespassers upon French soil.
traders refusing to depart, and the Indians being
ng to give them up, a fight ensued, in which fourteen
Twigtees or Miamas were killed, and the traders,
number, taken prisoners.[2]
occurred early in 1752, as the Indians referred to the
the treaty of Logstown, in June. It may justly be

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uote from a rare old book entitled, "A Memorial, containing a Sum-
w of Facts with their Authorities, in answer to the Observations
ne English Ministry to the Courts of Europe." 1757.
ork clearly shows that it was the aggressive policy of England that
n a war, the *effects* of which were felt from the shores of the Ohio
nks of the Ganges.
the works heretofore consulted, the number of traders taken pri-
s been stated at two; but the author of "A Memorial," &c., says
four and gives their names, viz.: Luke Arrowin, (Irvin?) Joseph

east of the Mississippi. (
stood matters in the spring of 1752. The English
l in their attempt to locate lands on the Ohio, deemed
ent to invite the chiefs of the neighboring tribes to a
on at Logstown, when they hoped to have the claims
Britain recognized, as they were clearly determined
s themselves of the lands in question, by fair means
Accordingly, in June 1752, Joshua Fry,[1] Lunsford
and James Patton, commissioners on the part of
met the Sachems and chiefs of the Six Nations, and
know to what they objected in the treaty of Lan-
e note B., end of Part II.), and of what else they com-
They produced the Lancaster treaty, insisted upon
ation, and the sale of the Western lands; but the
"No; they had heard of no sale of lands west of the
road[2] which ran at the foot of the Alleghany ridge."
missioners finding the Indians inflexible, and well
the rapid advance of the French, decided to offer
icements in goods, &c., for the ratification of the
l the relinquishment of the Indian title to lands
h of the Ohio and east of the Kanawha.
ers and importunities of the Virginians at length
prevailed, and on the 13th June, the Indians
consented to confirm the Lancaster deed in as
ample a manner as if the same was here recited,"[3]
nteeing that the settlements south-east of the Ohio

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s Commander in Chief over Washington at the commencement
war of 1755—63. He died at Wills creek (Cumberland) May

ooner did they ascertain the result of the conference
wn, than it was resolved to check the English the mo-
should set foot upon the banks of the Ohio. Vigor-
ures were taken to complete their line of fortifications
ad-waters of the Ohio, and to supply each post with
ance of ammunition. In the spring of 1753, the Ohio
directed Gist to lay out a town and erect
the mouth of Chartier's Creek, two and a [1753.]
s below the forks of the Monongahela and Alle-
This order, however, was not carried into effect, as
on, in his journal, uses the following language :—
wo miles from this place, (the forks,) on the south-
of the river, at the place where the Ohio Company
to lay off their fort, lives Shingiss, king of the
s."

o we remember, how often, in the joyous days of
youth, we have roamed over the beautiful grounds
as the once residence of the noble and generous
The spot is a short distance from the river, and a
h by west from McKee's rocks ;—a rugged pro-
ust below the mouth of Chartier's Creek. Associ-
this locality are many wild and startling Indian

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acts, 38-44.

ase of this rock, around which the water sweeps with great
ole of unfathomed depth. An opinion has long existed, that
le," the retreating French from Fort Du Quesne, in 1756, threw
ammunition, &c. &c. During the past summer, a search was

CHAPTER V.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH CLAIMS TO THE OHIO.

E claim of France to all the country watered by the and its tributaries, was based upon that recognized law tions that the discovery of the mouth of a river entitled ation so discovering to the whole country drained by iver and its tributaries. This claim set up by France esisted by the colonies, is precisely the same upon which ve recently based our title to the "whole of Oregon." the part of Great Britain, it was claimed, that inde- nt of her title by purchase,[1] she held, under the dis- of Cabot, the entire region lying between the 38th th degree of north latitude, and stretching from the c to the Pacific—a zone athwart the continent. She t up another claim,—*priority of discovery*,—to the alley: a claim utterly absurd and entirely untenable. were the grounds upon which two of the greatest an nations claimed supremacy in the beautiful and t Valley of the Ohio. Without stopping to discuss its of either, we will proceed in the continuation of ory.

e, convinced of the justness of her claim, and de- l not to be overawed by the threatening attitude of t rival, adopted at a very early day, the most effi- ans for maintaining her position in the great valley Vest. In 1720, she erected Fort Chartres, in Illi- of the strongest posts in its day on the

. That at Vincennes was established in 1735,[1] at
time the valley of the Wabash, or Ouabache, was
y defended.

ing the restless energy of that people, can it be
that they penetrated far up the valley of the Ohio,
de themselves familiar with the country bordering
elle Riviere," long previous to any account now upon

We have now in our possession, a singular and inte-
relic, taken from an ancient mound, near the mouth
ng creek, Wetzel county, Va., which may aid some
establishing the era of French visitation to the Ohio.
c is a crucifix, and its appearance plainly indicates
tiquity. The cross is of iron and much corroded,
mage of the SAVIOUR, being of more enduring metal
cross, is as perfect as when it came from the hand
artist. (See Wetzel Co. for further notice.) The
which this remarkable relic was found, was one of the
ient in appearance along the river. The depth at
had been placed, with many other attending circum-
leaves but little doubt that it must have lain in that
l tomb for at least two centuries. The presumption
who have examined it, that the relic belonged to
uit missionary who visited the Ohio Valley at a very
iod.

ately following the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, (1748,)
rt of London formed the plan of several new settle-
which they consulted rather the interest of their
merce, than the articles of those treaties which
wed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle."[2] Among the

d its tributaries, the Marquis [illegible],
r-general of Canada, determined to place along the
or *La Belle Riviere*,[3] at the confluence of important
es, *leaden plates*, suitably inscribed, asserting the
France to the lands on both sides of the river, even
ads of the tributaries. One of these plates has re-
en discovered at the mouth of Kanawha (Point Plea-
t was found by a son of John Beale, Esqr., in April,
Mr. Beale now lives in Covington, Ky.) We have
an exact drawing of the relic, and made a literal
n of the inscription; both of which are here given.[4]

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aty of Aix-la-Chapelle having left unadjusted the question of
nits, the French felt justified in resisting what they considered
pon their rights.

noticed in several publications an effort to question the chro-
is plate, in consequence of a statement in Murray's work on
ica, that M. de la Galissoniere had been superseded as Governor
n 1746, by Jonquierre; thus leaving a discrepancy of three
ccounted for. In order to satisfy those who have been disposed
have examined some reliable authorities, and find that Jon-
ot succeed the Marquis Galissoniere until August, 1749. Bou-
e latter on the 16th August, 1749; and Prof. Du Kalm, who was
e inauguration of Jonquierre, confirms this statement.
Riviere—the beautiful river,—was the euphonious distinction
truly beautiful stream, by the simple-hearted French *voyageur*
rogue glided over its fair and placid bosom.

[4] Translation of Plate.

749, reign of Louis XV., King of France, We, Celeron, command-
hment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la [illegible]

ve been recovered. The first at [illegible]
Marietta, a copy of which is given by Dr. Hildreth
ioneer History. Others were doubtless deposited at
points between French Creek and the mouth of the

eleron, commandant of the expedition depositing
ates, having ascertained from some of the traders,
ey acted under commissions from the Governor of
vania,[1] wrote to that officer, enjoining upon him the
of preventing his people from trading beyond the
ian mountains,[2] as he had been authorized to seize
ers and confiscate their goods. Celeron having dis-
the duty imposed upon him, to the satisfaction of his
ent, was shortly afterward appointed Commandant
it.

Celeron was no sooner gone from *La Belle Riviere*,
e English traders returned in crowds. They had
om the Government, to excite the Indians to take
against France; nay, they even brought them arms
unition."[3]

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as far as to the sources of said rivers; the same as were enjoyed
have been enjoyed, by the preceding Kings of France, and that
naintained it by their arms and by treaties, especially by those of
trecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle.
mination of the English traders taken on the Miami, clearly es-
his fact. The license which they produced authorized them to
ench territory; and as security, he (the Governor of Pennsyl-
out a spy, whose duty it was to concilitate the Indians, and
gainst the French.

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLAND PREPARES TO ASSERT HER CLAIM.

THUS stood matters at the close of the year 1752. The two great powers beyond the Atlantic, glad of a respite after eight years successful and unsuccessful war, were resting under the truce secured by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; while their commissioners were trying to out-wit one another on the matter of the disputed lands in the West.[1]

But the calm was that which precedes the storm. Although all seemed "peace" at home, a very different state of affairs existed in the backwoods of America. *Here*, the clangor of arms, the stern word of command, the daily *reveillé*—sounds so strange in the deep seclusion of an American forest—all told of the approaching conflict.

The unprejudiced reader cannot but deplore the short-sighted policy which induced England to bring on the unfortunate and protracted struggle of which we are about to speak.[2] Had it not been for her rapacity—her insatiate craving—her horse-leech cry,—"Give! give!" none can doubt but that all the horrors and bloody wrongs attending her six years' war with France, would have been averted. The English principle of action, both at home and abroad, seems ever to have been,

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[1] Smollett, George II. Ch. viii. and ix.

[2] At the time all was apparently, "profound peace" in the mother countries, "the English colonies were in motion to execute the plan of a general invasion, *formed and sent from London*, at a time when the English Commissioners at Paris seemed to have nothing more at heart, than to concur with those of the King in settling a plan of agreement."—"A Memorial," &c.

spring of 1753 opened with every prospect of matters
; to a crisis. The English traders had been driven off,
e warlike movements of the French indicated a deter-
resolution on their part. Information of these move-
having been conveyed to the colonial authorities of
lvania and Virginia, the former voted six hundred
for distribution among the Indians of the West, and
ndred additional to the Twigtees, who had lost some
r number in endeavoring to protect the Pennsylvania
taken captive by the French. Conrad Wieser, an
nced provincial interpreter, was sent out to ascertain
mber, condition, situation, and feeling of the tribes
Ohio and tributaries, "so that he might regulate the
tion of the goods that were to be divided among
In June a messenger was despatched to
nch, cautioning them against invading his [JUNE.]
ty's dominions." This commissioner only went to
n,—being afraid to go up the Alleghany as instructed.[3]
tober instructions reached the colonies, from the Earl
ernesse, Secretary of State,[4] to resist all
ments on the part of the French; and as [OCT.]
curity, to erect two forts at suitable points in the
territory. Accompanying these instructions to Vir-

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worth's "Rob Roy's Grave."
ction from A. Palmer, President of Council.
s' Wash. ii. 230.
orders looked alone *to war*, and evince a settled determination on
England to produce a rupture. From the instructions of the
g, found among the papers of Braddock, it has been ascertained
horted the Governors of the respective colonies, "to unite their
for carrying into execution a *studied and pre-concerted plan* of

thought all who heard of it.

Disposed to adjust the difficulty by mild means, Governor
widdie determined to send a messenger to the French
mandant on the head waters of the Ohio, threatening him
t unless the French forces were immediately withdrawn,
would be the consequence.[2]

n looking around for one whose zeal, energy, valor and
acity, might be equal to the herculean task of making
way hundreds of miles through an unbroken wilderness,
countless hordes of savages, his eye fell upon a young
ginia surveyor; scarcely twenty-one years of age, but
se courage and manly bearing as an officer in the pro-
ial ranks,[3] had won for him the esteem and admiration,
only of his companions in arms, but of the Governor him-

That young man was GEORGE WASHINGTON, afterwards
glory and the pride of his country. He was selected
e all others, and the choice proved the wisdom and judg-
of Governor Dinwiddie.

ceiving his instructions, and a passport, he left Williams-
burg on the 31st day of October, 1753. In two
weeks, he had reached Wills creek, where Cum-
nd now stands. With Gist as his guide, and accompanied
other men, he commenced, on the 15th of November
(1753) the arduous ascent of the rugged and
winter-bound Alleghanies. Who can realize the
perils of that mountain march! All around was terri-
ld,—the howling of the storm,—the roar of the winter's
—the fierce sweep of the snow,—and the hoarse voice
tracted waters, with the awful solitude and strength

31.]

15.]

rks' Wash. i. 21; Burke, iii. 171; Chalmers'

which reigned around, were enough to make the very souls of men shrink back in unwonted awe. But undismayed amid all this terrible war of the elements, the young Virginian struggled on, reaching the Monongahela on the 23d, near the spot where two years afterwards, he took part in one of the most sanguinary conflicts of the six years' war. He reached the forks (Pittsburgh) on the 23d, and his keen eye at once saw the great advantage presented by the place for a fortified post.[1]

Inviting Shingiss, king of the Delawares, to meet in council at Logstown, they proceeded thither, "where we arrived between sun-setting and dark, on the twenty-fifth day after leaving Williamsburg."[2]

At this place, Washington met Tanacharison, Half King of the Six Nations;[3] but finding little could be done with the natives on account of their fear of the French, he set out, accompanied by the Half King and three other Indians, for the French post at the head of French creek.

Through incessant rains and interminable swamps, they travelled on to Venango, (seventy miles) where, meeting Captain Joncaire, who had command of the station, Washington was informed that they (the French) had taken possession of the Ohio, (meaning the entire region from the Lakes to the river Ohio) and, by —— *they* "*would hold it.*" Joncaire advised Washington to proceed to the quarters of St. Pierre (Le Bœuf) who was a higher officer in command. Four days more of severe fatigue, brought the little party to St. Pierre. Delivering Gov. Dinwiddie's message, the commandant replied that he could do nothing more than send it on to the Marquis Du Quesne, Governor-general of Canada. As

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[1] Marshall's Washington, ii. 4; Sparks' Do. 26. Washington's Journal.

[2] Washington's Journal.

[3] The Half-king was a devoted friend of the English. He gave Washington much valuable information; and had he lived, would doubtless have been of

to withdrawing from his present position, he could not. This was all done in the most polite and respectful manner.[1] During his stay, Washington was handsomely cared for; every attention and kindness being shown him.

Returning, they reached Venango, after a "tedious and fatiguing passage down the creek. Several times, we had like to have been staved against rocks, and many times, were obliged to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place, the ice had lodged and made it impassable by water: we had therefore, to carry our canoes across a neck of land, a quarter of a mile."[2]

From Venango, Washington and Gist set out on foot, "with gun in hand, and pack on back" for the Ohio. Of the hardships which they underwent during this perilous march, we will quote a few passages from the journal of the illustrious chief. Reaching a place in the Alleghany river, where they desired to cross, but the ice driving in such vast quantities, it was found impossible to effect a passage except on a raft, "which we set to work with our poor hatchets, and finished just after sun-setting. This, was a whole day's work; we next got it launched, then went on board of it, and set off; but before we were half-way over, we were jammed in ice in such a manner, that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting pole, to try to stop the raft that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water; but I fortunately saved myself, by catching one of the raft logs.—Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.

"The cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had *all his*

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[1] Smollett, viii., 490; Sparks' Washington, i., 29; Gal-

fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard, that we found no difficulty in getting off the island, on the ice, in the morning."[2] Who can read this plain, simple and touching narrative, and not shudder at the imminent danger of a life so valuable? At one time, a treacherous Indian,[3] at the distance of fifteen paces, fired upon them; but, escaping all, they reached the house of a friend at the mouth of Turtle creek, and thence Washington returned in safety to Williamsburg, reaching that place on the 16th of January, 1754.

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[1] Supposed to be Wainright's Island, a short distance above Pittsburg.

[2] Washington's Journal.

[3] It may not be amiss here to add a short extract from the journal of Gist, kept on the same occasion. We do this, in order to disprove the charge of inhumanity made against Washington, in the cases of Jumonville, André, &c. 'We arose very early in the morning, and set out about two o'clock, and came to the Murderingtown, on the south-east fork of Beaver creek. Here we met an Indian, whom I thought I had seen at Venango. This fellow saluted me by my Indian name, and pretended to be glad to see me. I thought very ill of the fellow, * * the Major (Washington,) soon mistrusted him as much as I did. * * * It was very light, and snow was on the ground. The Indian made a stop, and turned about, the Major saw him point his gun towards us, and he fired. Said the Major, 'Are you shot?' 'No!' said I; upon which, the Indian ran towards a big white oak, and began loading his gun; but we were soon with him. *I would have killed him, but the Major would not suffer me.*"

Gist's Journal may be seen in the Massachusetts Historical Collection, v., p. 88.

CHAPTER VII.

VIRGINIA ASSUMING THE QUARREL.

THE answer of St. Pierre, left no other course for the provincial authorities to pursue, than prepare for war. Washington's journal was published by order of the Council, to arouse the people of the provinces. It was re-published in England, exciting not only respect for its author, but a determination to meet and resist the encroachments of France.[1]

Governor Dinwiddie sent messengers to the provinces of North Carolina, Pennsylvania and New York, advising them of the crisis, and calling upon them for assistance. Two companies were ordered to be immediately raised in Virginia,—one East, the other in the West, to proceed at once to the erection of a fort at the point where Pittsburg now stands. Washington was given the command of the force thus to be raised. One company was to be enlisted by himself, and the other by Captain Trent, an experienced frontierman.—Five thousand acres of land were to be divided among those who should enlist; one thousand acres of which were to be laid off contiguous to the fort, for the use of the soldiers doing duty there, which were to be called the 'garrison lands.'[2]

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[1] Sparks' Washington, ii., 432; Howisson i., 451.

[2] Ibid, ii., 1. (The lands thus granted became the subject of dispute between the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The latter denied the right of the former so to dispose of lands which Pennsylvania claimed, and believed she was entitled to. The matter, however, was finally adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties.)

The company raised by Trent, was ordered on, and directed to put up, at the forks, with the least practicable delay, a fort of suitable strength to resist any ordinary attack, and with orders to destroy or capture any hostile or resisting force.[1]

On the 17th of February, 1754, Capt. Trent, with his company, reached the forks, and immediately commenced the erection of a fort. Early in April, [FEB. 17.] Capt. Trent, left his command to visit Wills creek, and soon after, Lieutenant Frazier absented himself on a visit to his family at the mouth of Turtle creek. Thus the command devolved upon Ensign Ward, an officer of courage, but not much experience, who with his little company of forty-one men, vigorously pushed forward the fort. On the morning of the 16th of April,[2] when all seemed security, [APL. 16.] and none dreamed of danger, Ensign Ward, with what terror may well be imagined, beheld approaching the point, a *French fleet* of such magnitude as to startle the rustic backwoodsman out of all notions of war, and war-like defences. The French fleet numbered several hundred vessels.[3] They descended the Alleghany, and sweeping round in front of the "garrison," Monsieur Contrecœur, sent on shore the following imperious summons to surrender.

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[1] Sparks' Washington, ii., 1, 431.

[2] Most accounts give the date of this occurrence as the 17th of April, but it will be perceived by reference to the summons, that it bears date, 16th.

[3] Ward represented to his commander, the number of French to be one thousand, with eighteen pieces of cannon, three hundred canoes, and sixty bateau. The number of men is believed to have been exaggerated, as Captain Stobo, who was sent as hostage, shortly afterwards, states in a letter that the number of French then in the fort, was less than two hundred.

"A SUMMONS,

"By Order of Monsieur Contrecœur, Captain of one of the Companies of the Detachment of the French Marine, Commander-in-Chief of his most Christian Majesty's Troops, now on the Beautfiul River, to the Commander of those of the King of Great Britain, at the mouth of the River Monongahela.

"Sir,—Nothing can surprise me more than to see you attempt a settlement upon the lands of the king, my master, which obliges me now, sir, to send you this gentleman, Chevalier Le Mercier, captain of the artillery of Canada, to know of you, sir, by virtue of what authority you are come to fortify yourself within the dominions of the king, my master. This action seems so contrary to the last treaty of peace, at Aix La Chapelle, between his most Christian Majesty and the King of Great Britain, that I do not know to whom to impute such an usurpation, as it is incontestable that the lands situated along the Beautiful River belong to his most Christian majesty.

"I am informed, sir, that your undertaking has been concerted by none else than by a Company, who have more in view the advantage of a trade than to endeavor to keep the union and harmony which subsists between the two crowns of France and Great Britain, although it is as much the interest, sir, of your nation as ours to preserve it.

"Let it be as it will, sir, if you come out into this place, charged with orders, I summon you in the name of the king, my master, by virtue of orders which I got from my general, to retreat peaceably with your troops from off the lands of the king, and not to return, or else I will find myself obliged to fulfil my duty, and compel you to it. I hope, sir, you will not defer an instant, and that you will not force me to the last extremity. In that case, sir, you may be persuaded that I will give orders that there shall be no damage done by my detachment.

"I prevent you, sir, from asking me one hour of delay, nor to wait for my consent to receive orders from your governor. He can give none within the dominions of the king, my master. Those I have received of my general are my laws, so that I cannot depart from them.

"On the contrary, sir, if you have not got orders, and

come to trade, I am sorry to tell you, that I can't avoid seizing you, and to confiscate your effects to the use of the Indians, our children, allies and friends, as you are not allowed to carry on a contraband trade. It is for this reason, sir, that we stopped two Englishmen, last year, who were trading upon our lands: moreover, the king, my master, asks nothing but his right; he has not the least intention to trouble the good harmony and friendship which reigns between his Majesty and the King of Great Britain.

"The Governor of Canada can give proof of his having done his utmost endeavors to maintain the perfect union which reigns between two friendly princes. As he had learned that the Iroquois and the Nipissingues of the Lake of the Two Mountains had struck and destroyed an English family, towards Carolina, he has barred up the road, and forced them to give him a little boy belonging to that family, and which Mr. Ulerich, a merchant of Montreal, has carried to Boston; and what is more, he has forbid the savages from exercising their accustomed cruelty upon the English, our friends.

"I could complain bitterly, sir, of the means taken all last winter to instigate the Indians to accept the hatchet and to strike us, while we were striving to maintain the peace. I am well persuaded, sir, of the polite manner in which you will receive M. Le Mercier, as well out of regard to his business as his distinction and personal merit. I expect you will send him back with one of your officers, who will bring me a precise answer. As you have got some Indians with you, sir, I join with M. Le Mercier, an interpreter, that he may inform them of my intentions upon that subject.

"I am, with great regard, sir,

"Your most humble and most obedient servant,

"CONTRECŒUR.

"*Done at our Camp, April* 16, 1754."

With this summons Ensign Ward could do no less than comply, and accordingly delivered up to the French entire possession of the post; himself and men retiring up the Monongahela as far as Redstone. Contrecœur took immediate possession, and finishing the fort, called it *Du Quesne*, after the Governor-general of Canada.

In the meantime, it having been determined by the Coun-

carrying on the war, the two companies ordered to be raised were increased to six, and Joshua Fry appointed colonel, with Washington for lieutenant-colonel. The latter having organized two companies at Alexandria, marched to Wills creek, (Cumberland), where he received intelligence of the surrender of Ward. Startled at this information, he was at a loss how to act, as Colonel Fry had not arrived. But resolved on checking the encroachments of the French, he determined to erect a fort at the mouth of Redstone, (Brownsville,) and

[MAY 9.] pushing on boldly into the wilderness, had, by the 9th of May, reached the Little Meadows, at the head of the Youghiogheny river.

Halting here his little command, Washington descended the Youghiogheny to ascertain the chances of transporting his men and artillery by water, and also to gather information as to the movements of the French.

Finding the route by water impracticable, he returned, and

[MAY 27.] soon after a messenger from his old friend, the Half King, came into camp to apprize him of the rapid advance of a small party of Frenchmen. On the same day, his former guide, Gist, called and confirmed the statement of the Indian. But this information did not in the least dishearten the gallant young commander. With the least possible delay he hurried on to the "Great Meadows," an open and level piece of ground, and well adapted for a place of defence. Here a hurried entrenchment was formed, and every preparation made for meeting and resisting an attack. Some time during the night a second express from Tanacharison brought intelligence that the French were encamped in a deep vale about six miles from his own position, and to strike an effective blow it would be necessary to move at once. Although the night was intensely dark, and the rain falling in torrents, Washington, with the Indian guide, led his little army forward, determined to anticipate the attack of the French. Who can conceive the terrors of that midnight mountain march over cragged rocks, through deep

ravines, amid the thunder of the elements and the darkness visible which reigned around! With undaunted nerve the youthful officer pressed on in the track of his Indian guide, while his men followed in silence, for the sullen sound of the thunder and fierce sweeping of the tempest smothered alike the heavy tread of the one, and the stern command of the other.

At gray dawn, the united force of provincials and Indians surrounded the camp of the French, who, little dreading an attack at that time and place, were reposing in conscious security. The guard, discovering the [MAY 28.] presence of their foe, sounded the alarm, when an almost simultaneous discharge took place.

M. DE JUMONVILLE, commander of the French, with ten of his men, fell at the first fire; the balance surrendered without further resistance.

Thus was shed the *first* blood in a war which Smollett has ignorantly termed a "Native of America,"[1] and which, speedily involved England and her colonies in a long and bloody conflict.

It deserves to be commemorated as WASHINGTON'S *first* battle. It marked the man as one born to no ordinary destiny; it served to prepare him for the great and splendid achievements which so gloriously crowned his after life.

In this affair Washington had one man killed and two wounded. The prisoners were marched to the "Meadow," and thence sent to Virginia. During the action, a Canadian made his escape, and conveyed information of the defeat to the commandant at Fort Du Quesne.

Washington, anticipating renewed efforts on the part of the French, enlarged and strengthend his position, which he very appropriately called "*Fort Necessity*."[2] He was soon joined

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[1] Continuation of Hume, viii., 514.

[2] Grahame iii., 371; Marshall's Washington, ii. 7.

During the past year, a company has been chartered by the Pennsylvania Legislature, to erect a monument upon this spot, in commemoration of the bravery, skill, and devotion of Washington. It is to be of iron, about fifty

by Captain Mackey's independent company from South Carolina, and a number of friendly Indians. Captain Mackey, holding a commission from the English Crown, claimed precedence over a colonial officer of equal grade, and attempted to take command of the little army. But this idea he was very soon compelled to abandon, as the disaffection became so manifest, that he knew it would be dangerous to insist upon his conceived rights. Very reluctantly, he was forced to yield to the superior genius of our incomparable WASHINGTON.

On the 31st of May, Colonel Fry died at Wills creek, and thus the whole command devolved upon Washington. On the 10th of June, Indian runners notified him that the Shawanese and Delawares had leagued with the French against the English. On the following day, Colonel Washington marched with his entire force, except Captain Mackey's company, left in command of Fort Necessity. His object was to reach the Monongahela, and erect a fort at the mouth of Red-stone. He had time only to reach Gist's place, at the foot of Laurel hill, when he was apprized of the advance of the French, and cautioned against proceeding, as they "were as numerous as the pigeons in the woods."[1] Convinced, by the various accounts, that the French force was very great, a retreat was ordered. Washington set the noble example of lending his horse for the transportation of public stores, &c. The army reached its entrenchments on the 1st day of July. It was the intention of Washington to have proceeded to Wills creek, but the men, greatly fatigued by their mountain march, were unwilling to go further.[2]

[MAY 31.] [JUNE 10.] [JULY 1.]

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feet in height, and of handsome and appropriate design. We sincerely hope that the movement may be successful, and the rude site of *Fort Necessity* beautified by such a structure as that proposed.

[1] Marshall's Washington, ii., 8.

[2] The army had been without bread for eight days, and from famine and fatigue, were almost exhausted.

Every effort was made to prepare to give a vigorous resistance. But what could four or five hundred men, without bread, and shut up in a half-finished fortress on the top of a mountain, hope to accomplish against a well-fed and well-disciplined force of three times their own number?

Early on the 3d of July, the French and Indians came in view of the fort. In a short time, and while at the distance of six hundred yards, they commenced firing. [JULY 3.]

"Colonel Washington had drawn up his men on the level ground[1] outside of the trench, waiting for an attack, whic he presumed would be made as soon as the enemy's forces emerged from the woods." He suspected the distant firing a mere *rusé* to draw his men into the forest; but finding they would not approach, he stationed his men within the trenches, and ordered them to fire at discretion.

The French and their allies kept at a respectable distance during most of the day, but maintained a brisk fire from about 11 o'clock A.M. to 8 P.M. It rained heavily during the whole day, and most of Washington's army stood in water above their knees.

At 8 o'clock in the evening, the French commander ordered a parley, as he saw it would be useless to continue the siege any longer. A large number of his men had fallen before the unerring aim of colonial riflemen, and a truce of any kind was highly acceptable.

Washington's position was no better, and he was glad of a respite on any honorable terms. He well knew that the enemy's forces were vastly superior to his own, and could not but apprehend the result of a second day's siege. Darkness

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[1] The plate in Sparks' Washington, i. opposite page 56, conveys a pretty correct idea of the Great Meadows, and the locality of Fort Necessity. The entrenchments of Washington are still faintly to be traced, about three hundred yards south of the Cumberland road, although the hand of time, and the ploughshare of the husbandman, have nearly obliterated every ves-

too, lay upon the earth; his men were in mud and water above their knees; many had their guns wet and out of order; they were without provisions, and no hope of a supply; what else then, could he do, but agree to terms?

But, when the truce flag was sent him, apprehending treachery, he refused to receive it. On a second application, however, accompanied by a request that an officer might be sent out, De Villier pledging his honor that no violence should be done him, Colonel Washington despatched Captain Van Braam, who was the only person under his command who pretended to understand the French language.[1] In a short time the Captain returned, bearing with him articles of capitulation. These he read, and pretended to interpret to his commander; but from gross ignorance of the French language, he was the means of inflicting a great wrong upon the fame and character of Washington.[2] The terms of capitulation were alike honorable to both parties. Washington, with his men, were to leave Fort Necessity with everything but their artillery; to march out with drums and fife, displaying colors, &c. The prisoners taken at the defeat of Jumonville, were to be returned; and for the observance of this condition, Captains Van Braam and Stobo were to be retained by the French as hostages. It was further agreed, that the party yielding, should not attempt to "build any more entrenchments west of the mountains," for one year.[3]

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[1] We should, perhaps, have excepted the Chevalier de Peyrouny, an ensign in the Virginia regiment; but he was so badly wounded, as to have rendered it impossible to act on this occasion.

[2] In the terms of capitulation, the death of Jumonville is worded, "*l'assassinat du sieur du Jumonville*," which Vanbraam interpreted simply, as "the death of Jumonville," to which Washington could take no exception, and which himself and Mackey unhesitatingly signed; thus virtually acknowledging the affair of May 28th, a murderous assault. Mr. Sparks, in his Appendix to Washington's papers, (ii., 447—459,) has discussed this matter at length, and fully and clearly answered the aspersions of malicious British authors.

Washington and his men marched out early on the following morning, July 4, and proceeded at once to Wills creek, but were greatly harassed during most of the way, by bands of savages, who hung upon their trail. Colonel Washington lost no time in repairing to Williamsburg, and communicating to the colonial authorities the events of the campaign. So well satisfied were the members of the Assembly, that a vote of thanks was passed to the gallant commander and all who had served under him.[1] This acknowledgment of the bravery, skill, and energy of the little army, was well merited. It had surmounted formidable difficulties, kept a superior foe at bay, and even in defeat, had secured a most honorable capitulation.[2]

[JULY 4.]

The conduct of Washington throughout this expedition, gave a glorious presage of the illustrious career which an All-wise Providence had marked out before him.

As a copy of the capitulation signed on this occasion may not be uninteresting to many of our readers, we give it below in full. In connection with this matter, we will state that a very old copy (supposed to have been made at the time,) has recently been found in possession of an aged Frenchman at Detroit. The paper had been in the family for many years, without their appearing to know its value or character. At length, Hon. W. Woodbridge, late United States Senator from Michigan, looking over the old man's papers, found the relic alluded to.

ART. 1. We permit the English commander to withdraw, with all his garrison, to go back peaceably to his country, and we engage on our part, to prevent that any insult should be committed upon him by our Frenchmen, and to hinder as much as will be in our power all the savages who are with us.

ART. 2. He will be permitted to withdraw and carry away all that belongs to them, with the exception of the artillery, which we reserve for ourselves.

ART. 3. That we accord them the honors of war; that

they will go out, drum beating, with a small cannon, wishing by that to prove to them that we treat them as friends.

ART. 4. That as soon as the articles are signed on both sides, they will bring the English flag.

ART. 5. That to-morrow at the break of day a French detachment will go to cause the garrison to file off, and take possession of said fort.

ART. 6. That as the English have scarcely any horses or oxen left, they will be at liberty to hide or secrete their goods, so that they may carry them away when they have obtained horses; to this end they will be permitted to leave guards in such number as they think proper, upon condition that they will give parol of honor, that they will not labor at any settlement in this place, nor beyond the high grounds, for one year to commence from this day.

ART. 7. That as the English have in their power an officer and two cadets, and generally the prisoners which they have made at the time of the murder of Sir de Jumonville, and that they engage to send them with safe guard to Fort Du Quesne, situated upon the Beautiful River, (Ohio) therefore, for the security of this article, as well as of this treaty, Messrs. Jacob Vanbraam and Robert Stobo, both captains, will be given us as hostages, until the arrival of our Frenchmen and Canadians, as above mentioned. We oblige ourselves on our part to give escort, and return in safety the two officers who promised us our Frenchmen in two months and a half at the furthest.

Made duplicate upon one of the posts of our block house, the day and year as above stated.

Have signed, Messrs. James Mackey, George Washington, Coulon Villier.

As we have already stated, when the Virginia House of Burgesses met in August, they requested the Governor to lay before them a copy of the capitulation, and, upon a due consideration of the subject, passed a vote of thanks to Colonel Washington and his officers for their bravery and gallant defence of their country. The names of all the officers were enumerated, except those of the Major of the regiment, and of Captain Vanbraam, the former of whom was charged with cowardice, and the latter with having acted a treacherous part in his interpretation of the articles. The

the instructions he had given to the officers and forces sent on the Ohio expedition. In short, all the proceedings of the campaign were not only approved, but applauded, by the representatives of the people, and by the public generally. A pistole was granted to each of the soldiers, who had been in the engagement. To the vote of thanks Washington replied as follows:

TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES.

WILLIAMSBURG, October 23, 1754.

SIR—Nothing could give me, and the officers under my command, greater satisfaction, than to receive the thanks of the House of Burgesses, in so particular and public a manner, for our behaviour in the late unsuccessful engagement with the French; and we unanimously hope that our future proceedings in the service of our country will entitle us to a continuance of your approbation, I assure you, sir, I shall always look upon it as my indispensable duty to endeavor to deserve it.

I was desired by the officers of the Virginia regiment to make their suitable acknowledgments for the honor they have received in your thanks. I therefore hope the enclosed will be agreeable, and answer their, and the intended purpose of, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE WORSHIPFUL THE SPEAKER, AND THE GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES

We, the officers of the Virginia regiment, are highly sensible of the particular mark of distinction with which you have honored us, in returning your thanks for our behaviour in the late action, and cannot help testifying our grateful acknowledgments for your high sense of what we shall always esteem a duty to our country and the best of kings.

Favored with your regard, we shall zealously endeavor to deserve your applause, and by our future actions strive to convince the worshipful House of Burgesses, how much we esteem their approbation, and, as it ought to be, regard it as the voice of our country.

Signed for the whole corps,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

NOTE A.

A number of recent writers on Western History, among whom we may mention Dr. Hildreth, in his "Pioneer History," Col. Geo. W. Thompson, one of the Commissioners appointed to adjust the boundary question between Virginia and Ohio, and several others, speak of the destruction in 1753 of an English trading house at Logstown.[1]

Col. Thompson, in support of his position, that Virginia authority extended *west* of the Ohio, alleges, "That the first acts of hostility on the part of the French, clearly indicate the possession and extensive establishment of Virginia, west of the Apalachian mountains—*west of the Ohio river.*" And then quotes from Smollett and Burke, in reference to the destruction of the post at Logstown.

Without desiring to enter upon a discussion of this point, it may be alone necessary to say, that apart from the unreliable statements of Smollett and other British writers, we have no evidence of the existence of any trading post at Logstown, of the date referred to. Washington, who was there in 1753, makes no allusion to it in his journal. Important cotemporary papers, now among the archives of the Ohio Historical Society, make no mention of such a thing; and it is therefore most probable that the destruction of the post referred to by Smollett, Burke, Russell, and others, was on the Miami, and *not* at Logstown, on the Ohio.

NOTE B.

The treaty of Lancaster, made in 1744, presents a very correct idea of the manner in which the simple-hearted children of the forest were dealt with by their *Christian* brethren.

The necessity for this treaty grew out of the fact that settlements had been made on the Indian lands in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Passing over the first three days' proceedings as detailed by Marshe, one of the Secretaries, we commence with the operations of Monday, June 24th. "On this day, speaking began, to the satisfaction of all parties, and ended merrily with dancing and music, and a great supper. On Tuesday and Wednesday also, speeches were made, varied by dances, in which appeared some

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[1] Most of the old authorities place this village on the north side of the river. Croghan, in his journal, locates it on the *south* side, and all the old persons whom we have consulted, agree that it stood on the south, or left hand side in descending.

very disagreeable women, *who danced wilder time than any Indian!* On Thursday, the goods were opened, wherewith the Maryland people wished to buy the Indian claim to the lands on which settlements had been made. These goods were narrowly scanned by the red men, but at last taken for £220, Pennsylvania money, after which, *they drank punch.* Friday, the Six Nations agreed to the grant, and *punch was drank again.* On Saturday, a dinner was given the Indians, at which they drank heartily, fed heartily, and were very greasy before they finished! After this, came the Commissioners from Virginia, *supported by a due quantity of wine and bumbo,*[1] and received 'a deed releasing their claim to a large quantity of land lying in that colony,' the Indians being persuaded to 'recognize the King's right to all lands that are, or by his Majesty's appointment shall be within the colony of Virginia.' For this, they received £200 in gold, and a like sum in goods, with a promise, that as settlements increased, more should be paid, which promise was signed and sealed."[2]

Such was the treaty of Lancaster, upon which the British based their claim by purchase to the lands on the Ohio.

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[1] Rum and water.

[2] Annals of the West, 48-9.